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VOCATIONAL ADVISORY SERVICE YOUTH AND WORK PROGRAM.

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VOCATIONAL ADVISORY SERVICE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

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THE ACTIVITIES OF A PROGRAM ESTABLISHED TO INCREASE THE EMPLOYABILITY AND IMPROVE THE OVERALL ADJUSTMENT OF THE SCHOOL DROPOUT ARE REPORTED. THE REPORT DISCUSSES (1) THE NUMBER AND SOURCES OF REFERRALS, (2) CHARACTERISTICS AND ASSESSMENTS OF THE CLIENT POPULATION, AND (3) THE SERVICE OFFERED OVER A 33-MONTH PERIOD. THE PROGRAM PROVIDED THE DROPOUT WITH COUNSELING, PSYCHOLOGICAL APPRAISAL, SOCIAL CASEWORK, PREVOCATIONAL TRAINING AND WORK ADJUSTMENT AID, REMEDIAL EDUCATION, JOB PLACEMENT, AND FOLLOWUP SERVICES. IT WAS FOUND THAT DESPITE SOME OF THE DROPOUTS' INADEQUATE MOTIVATION OR HEALTH OR PSYCHIATRIC PROBLEMS, 55 PERCENT OF THOSE ENROLLED IN THE PROGRAM OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT AND MAINTAINED IT FOR A LONGER PERIOD THAN THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY, AND 15 PERCENT OF THEM RETURNED TO SCHOOL. THESE FINDINGS ARE CONSIDERED PRELIMINARY IN THAT LONG-TERM JOB STABILITY AND ADJUSTMENT ARE STILL TO BE EVALUATED. THIS REPORT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE FINDINGS OF A RESEARCH DESIGN WHICH WILL COMPARE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS PROGRAM WITH A PROGRAM OFFERING ONLY JOB ASSISTANCE. THESE FINDINGS WILL SUBSEQUENTLY BE REPORTED BY THE NEW YORK STATE DIVISION FOR YOUTH. (JL)

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VOCATIONAL ADVISORY SERVICE
YOUTH AND WORK PROGRAM

Sponsored by

New York State Division for Youth

In Cooperation With

New York City Youth Board

and

New York State Employment Service

This report summarizes the operation of our Youth and Work Program during the 33-month period beginning 5/1/62 and ending 1/31/65. The following areas are dealt with in the report:

I - Description and Purpose of the Program
II - Referrals to the Program
III - Characteristics of the Client Population
IV - Assessment of Clients
V - Description of Services to Clients
VI - Summary and Conclusions

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by Adele S. Trobe, Director, Vocational Advisory Service

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PREFACE

This preliminary evaluation of the experimental and demonstration phase of the Vocational Advisory Service's Youth and Work Training Program covers the first 33 months of its operation through January 31, 1965. In February and March 1965, the last two months of the contract period, no new cases were admitted to the program. The staff used this period to make a careful study of the existing caseload and to complete service to as many clients as possible. This resulted in the closing of 123 cases. However, 119 clients remained, who still needed and sought our services.

Fortunately, since April 1st the Youth and Work Training Program has been able to carry on the program on a service basis to these 119 as well as to new applicants. Despite lack of recruitment efforts and a depleted staff, 66 more applied and were accepted in the next three months, and 12 former clients reapplied for further help. Through the valiant efforts of the New York City Youth Board and its administrative staff, temporary financing was obtained from the City, pending inclusion of the service in the Community Action Program of the Economic Opportunity Committee of New York. Approval of the program for six months under these auspices is imminent. We are hopeful that financing will be renewed and extended for some time to come. As indicated in this report, guidance for these youth requires time, patience and consistent handling. Chronic uncertainty as to the future of the project inevitably affects staff performance and client confidence. Instability of program can jeopardize the vocational success of these young people, in whom the community has invested so much time, effort and money.

In this new phase of the program the age limitations will be 16 through 21; there will be no assignment of applicants to a control group; and there may be some slight changes in eligibility requirements. This will be accompanied by an expansion of staff, space and program in the hope that 500-600 youngsters can be served per year.

The Vocational Advisory Service wishes to express its deep appreciation to the New York City Youth Board for its understanding and help to our staff in the development of an effective program for very difficult youth. We are particularly grateful to Miss Marie Duffin and Miss Harriet Young of the Youth Board, to Mrs. Ersa H. Poston of the New York State Division for Youth, to Mrs. Marguerite H. Coleman of the New York State Employment Service, to Dr. Nathan Brown of the Board of Education, and to many of their colleagues for their support, interest and concrete help.

The VAS is also indebted to the staff of the Youth and Work Training Program and in particular to Mr. Harry E. Leubling, Consultant for VAS, for compiling and writing this report.

We are also proud to annouce that, as of April 1st, VAS has appointed an unusually well-qualified individual, Miss M. Elisabeth Steiner, to direct the program in its new phase. We look forward to a program which will grow in effectiveness and have an ever-increasing impact upon the West Side of Manhattan as well as on youth programs in general.

7/14/65

(Mrs.) Adele S. Trobe,
Director

STAFF OF THE YOUTH AND WORK TRAINING PROGRAM
Through March 31, 1965

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Vocational Counselors:	Ruth Larson * Evelyn B. Pearce
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Workshop Supervisor:	Howard Safar
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Remedial Tutor:	Adelaide H. Wexler
Intake Receptionist	Sylvia Rosenfeld Henriette Cohn
Secretaries:	Jency Brinson * Vivette A. Smitherman
NYSES Placement Interviewer:	Robert Cohen *
VAS Consultants:	Rudolf Schindler Emma Seipp Harry E. Leubling

List includes all individuals who served on the staff, but not necessarily concurrently.

* Currently (7/1/65) on the Youth and Work staff.

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I. DESCRIPTION AND PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT

The Youth and Work Program of the Vocational Advisory began in May 1962 as an experimental program focused on the vocational, educational and personal problems of school drop-outs, in the age range from 16 through 18. Originally designed to service only the area from 79th to 110th Street on the West Side of Manhattan, the project was expanded within the first five months and thereafter was available to drop-outs living in the area bounded on the south and north by 59th and 125th Streets and extending from Central Park West to the Hudson River. This three-year action-research project was sponsored and financed by the New York State Division for Youth through a contract with the New York City Youth Board. Job placement services were made available through the cooperation of the New York State Employment Service. Certain administrative and other services were supplied by the Vocational Advisory Service.

The research design developed by the State Division for Youth required an experimental group and a control group. Operationally this meant that 50% of the eligible applicants were to be assigned on a random basis to the experimental group and 50% to the control group. Experience indicated, however, that this was not feasible. The demand for services was far greater than had been anticipated, owing no doubt to the fact that the Youth and Work Program was the first - and only - youth project to operate in this multi-problem, disadvantaged, high delinquency area. As a result the design was modified to permit two-thirds of the eligible applicants to be assigned to the experimental group.

The services available to the experimental group consisted of counseling, psychological appraisal, social casework, pre-vocational training and work adjustment, remedial education, job placement, and follow-up. In contrast, the control group received only job placement assistance, which was supplied by a Youth Employment Service worker assigned to the project through the cooperation of the New York State Employment Service. This report will not attempt to compare and evaluate the relative effectiveness of these two approaches to the drop-out problem. The research design provided that the data on the control group were to be collected independently by the State Division for Youth. At a later date, that agency will publish a report which will deal not only with the VAS Youth and Work Program but also with the several other Youth and Work Programs that were subsequently established and will evaluate the results obtained by the Youth and Work Programs compared with those obtained solely through job placement efforts.

The major purpose of the VAS Youth and Work Program has been to attempt to enhance the employability and overall adjustment of the school drop-out by means of highly intensive individual counseling and auxiliary services. Our efforts were aimed at bridging the gap between the adolescent's unsuccessful school experience and his subsequent attempts to find a place for himself in the world of work. It was recognized that many, if not most, of the young people applying for services would come from the ranks of the culturally and economically deprived, that they would exhibit a high incidence of personal-social-family adjustment problems, and that their confidence in themselves would be seriously impaired as a result of prior failure, frustration, and rejection. Accordingly, it was

felt that a great deal of encouragement and supportive counseling would be needed to help these youngsters develop more positive self-concepts and more favorable and responsible attitudes toward their future occupational roles. A basic premise underlying our approach was that of starting with the youngster at the point where he was and working with him in those problem areas in which he felt ready to accept assistance. This meant not only attempting to evaluate the client in terms of past and present, but also projecting this into the future. In effect, this required the counselor not only to try to determine the client's basic difficulty and its ramifications, but to assess the client's readiness to move into this area.

The staff assigned to this project by VAS consisted of the following:

Director - full -time (until June 1964)
Project Administrator - part-time (from June 1964 through end of project)
Consultant - part-time
Vocational Counselors (2) - full-time (until June 1964, then 1 full-time, 1 part-time through end of project)
Psychometrist - full-time
Social Worker - full-time
Remedial Specialist - part-time (November 1963 through end of project)
Workshop Supervisor - full-time (April 1963 through end of project)
Workshop Assistant - part-time (May 1964 through end of project)
Secretaries (2) - full-time
Intake Receptionist - full-time

The New York State Employment Service provided a full-time employment interviewer for the experimental group and a full-time Youth Employment Service counselor for the control group.

In addition, the services of administrative and bookkeeping personnel, a consulting psychiatrist and the VAS occupational and educational information library were also made available to the Youth and Work Program by Vocational Advisory Service.

II. REFERRALS TO THE PROGRAM

A. Number of Referrals Received and Number Accepted.

Service to the clients began in May 1962, one month after our Youth and Work Program officially came into being, the first month having been devoted to orientation of staff and development of operating procedures. This report covers activity during the 33-month period ending January 31, 1965.

During the 33-months of operation, we received a total of 3,298 applications and inquiries from young people interested in availing themselves of our services. Of this number, 1,892 made applications in person and 1,406 inquired by telephone or letter. It was found that

1,130 of the 1,892 persons who made application did not meet the eligibility criteria that had been set up. They either did not fall within the age range from 16 through 18, did not reside within the geographical area, or were not school drop-outs. In the latter category were found young people who were still in school and who desired assistance in obtaining part-time employment. Also in this group were many who were high school graduates but who had experienced difficulty in securing employment because of inadequate vocational skills. Of the 762 applicants who were found eligible for service, 463 entered the experimental group and 299 the control group. Table 1 presents statistics on the number of eligible applicants entering the experimental and control groups during each of the three years and for the entire period of operation.

Table 1

Number of Eligible Applicants Placed in the Experimental and Control Groups During Each Year and for the Entire Period of Operation

Period	Experimental Group	Control Group	Total
5/62 to 3/63 (11 months)	123	123	246
4/63 to 3/64 (12 months)	172	104	276
4/64 to 1/65 (10 months)	168	72	240
Total	463	299	762

Although almost 60% of those who applied did not meet the established eligibility criteria for direct service within the project, efforts were made in all of these cases to render some degree of assistance. For example, when the intake interview disclosed a need for help with family, financial, or emotional problems, referrals were arranged to appropriate agencies or clinics. Similarly, when the person was found to be in need of vocational counseling, referral was made to the Central Office of Vocational Advisory Service, which offers counseling to anyone between the ages of 16 and 25, without restriction as to geographical area or drop-out status. Where job placement assistance was needed, referral was made to the appropriate local office of the New York State Employment Service, the Youth Employment Service, or other non-fee charging placement agency. Direct job placement assistance was also given by the New York State Employment Service employment interviewer assigned to our program when, for example, he had job orders that could not be filled by regular clients of the program.

B. Referral Sources.

Referrals to the VAS Youth and Work Program came from a large number of agencies, schools, and professional workers throughout New York

City. Since many of these did not meet the project's eligibility criteria, we analyzed the experimental group referrals by source to determine where our most appropriate referrals were coming from. This data is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Referral Sources of the Experimental Group
From 5/1/62 to 1/31/65

	Male		Female		Total	
Referral Source	N	%	N	%	N	%
Youth Board	33	9.6	9	7.6	42	9.1
Casework Agencies	19	5.5	8	6.7	27	5.8
Community Centers	15	4.4	8	6.7	23	5.0
Board of Education	67	19.5	13	10.9	80	17.3
Youth Employment Service	10	2.9	4	3.4	14	3.0
Probation and Parole	30	8.7	5	4.2	35	7.6
Self	13	3.8	6	5.0	19	4.1
Friends	102	29.6	39	32.8	141	30.4
Family	35	10.2	13	10.9	48	10.4
Radio Announcements	10	2.9	5	4.2	15	3.2
Posters	7	2.0	8	6.7	15	3.2
Churches	3	.9	1	.9	4	.9
Total	344	100.0	119	100.0	463	100.0

As can be seen, the largest single source of referrals consisted of friends, who in virtually all instances, were former or current clients of the project. The second and third largest referral sources were the Board of Education and clients' families. Board of Education referrals included referrals by attendance officers of chronic truants, referrals by guidance counselors of youngsters about to drop out of school, and referrals from the "drop-out list." Approximately one-half of the referrals categorized as Board of Education referrals came via the "drop-out list." This is a list furnished to us by the schools consisting of names and addresses of recent drop-outs. Our procedure was to mail leaflets to these young people telling them about our program and the

kind of assistance we might be able to offer them. It is interesting that, although written material might not seem promising for these young people with reading handicaps, some came in clutching this leaflet as though it were a guarantee of admission. One young man not on the school lists came in with a leaflet and was reluctant to tell where he got it until assured he would not be turned away. Only then did he explain that his friend had received two in his envelope and had given him one.

Finally, it is significant that over 50% of the referrals consisted of referrals by friends and family and self-referrals (which includes those who came in in response to our posters and radio announcements).

The changing pattern of referral sources from the first year through the second and third years is evident in Table 3.

Table 3

Referral Sources of the Experimental Group for Each Year and for The Entire 3-Year Period of Operation

	1st Year (5/62-3/63)		2nd Year (4/63-3/64)		3rd Year (4/64-1/65		Total 5/62-1/65)	
Referral Source	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Self, friend, family	34	28	80	46	124	74	238	51
Board of Education	27	22	34	20	19	11	80	17
Social Agencies	18	15	31	18	15	9	64	14
Youth Board	25	20	10	6	7	4	42	9
Probation & Parole	15	12	17	10	3	2	35	8
Churches	4	3	0	0	0	0	4	1
Total	123	100	172	100	168	100	463	100

The "self-friend-family" referrals constituted 28% of the total number of referrals during the first year, whereas in the second and third years this category accounted for 46% and 74%, respectively. This year-by-year increase would seem to be a reflection of the program's acceptance in the community and - even more importantly - of its appeal and meaningfulness to the youngsters it was designed to reach. A few words should also be said in reference to the great drop in referrals made by the Youth Board. In the early months of our Youth and Work Program, we requested that the Youth Board inform their Referral Unit workers in our area of our program, with a view toward thereby reaching youngsters who might otherwise be unaware of the services available to them. Later, when our intake increased beyond our service capacity, it was necessary to cease such case-finding

efforts. Similarly, we found that although our posters and radio announcements accounted for only 6% of the total number of referrals over the three year period, this figure is misleading as to the case-finding potential of these media. An analysis of monthly intake statistics revealed that in the weeks immediately following a series of radio spot announcements or neighborhood poster-saturation, our intake usually doubled. In fact, the demand for services so outstripped our facilities in such instances that we had to ask the radio station to withdraw the announcement. Similar experience resulted from periodic articles about our program that appeared in the West Side News and the Amsterdam News, two local newspapers whose cooperation and coverage were of great value to us.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLIENT POPULATION

In this section are presented data on the following characteristics of the client population: (a) male: female ratio, (b) age distribution, (c) ethnic distribution, (d) socio-economic level, (e) level of education.

A. Male: Female Ratio

The male: female distribution of the experimental group for each of the three years and for the entire period of operation is presented below in Table 4.

Table 4

Male:Female Distribution of the Experimental Group

	1st Year (5/62-3/63)		2nd Year (4/63-3/64)		3rd Year (4/64-1/65)		Total (5/62-1/65)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	103	84	115	67	126	75	344	74
Female	20	16	57	33	42	25	119	26
Total	123	100	172	100	168	100	463	100

The percentage of boys decreased from the first year to the second year and increased slightly from the second to the third year. However, the percentage of boys in the experimental group is smaller in both the second and third years than in the first year. The girls, on the other hand, show an opposite trend. There is an increase in percentage from the first to the second year, a slight decrease in percentage from the second year to the third, with the percentages in second and third year being larger than in the first year. The increase in percentages of female clients from 1962 to 1965 may be related to the aforementioned increase in the "self-friend-family" category of referral sources. As shown in Table 3, that category increased from 28% in the first year to 46% in the second year

and to 74% in the third year. A comparison of the referral sources for males and females (Table ?) reveals that 59.6% of the girls were self-referred or referred by friends and family, whereas only 48.5% of the boys were so referred. As mentioned before, the great increase in "self-friend-family" referrals would seem to be a reflection of the program's acceptance in the community. The increase in the percentage of female clients along with this increase suggests that girls may be somewhat more reluctant than boys to avail themselves of a program until it has gained acceptance in the community.

An additional item of interest shown by Table 4 concerns the fact that in each year of operation the percentage of boys far exceeded the percentage of girls, the average male:female ratio being 3:1. This suggests both that this type of program appeals more to boys and also that boys have a greater need for assistance in the vocational area.

B. Age Distribution

Table 5 shows the age distribution for the males, females, and the total experimental group.

Table 5

Age Distribution by Sex and for the Total Experimental Group

	Male		Female		Total	
Age	N	%	N	%	N	%
16	117	34	30	25	147	32
17	156	45	56	47	212	46
18	71	21	33	28	104	22
Total	344	100	119	100	463	100

It will be noted that for both the boys and the girls the 17-year olds constituted the largest age category, accounting for 45% and 47%, respectively. The second largest category among the boys consisted of the 16-year olds (34%) while the 18-year olds accounted for only 21%. For the girls, however, there were about equal numbers of 16 and 18 year olds. Sixteen-year old boys may have a greater need for a program of this type than do 16-year old girls, while 18-year old girls may have a slightly greater need than do the 18-year old boys. However, further study would be needed to confirm this.

In summary, the data in this table and the preceding one suggest the following:

1. The 17-year olds - both male and female - constitute the largest age category needing service.

2. For boys, 16-year olds comprise the second largest age category.

3. Boys outnumber girls in this type of program by 3 to 1 with 16-year old boys outnumbering 16-year old girls proportionally by almost 4 to 1.

4. On the whole, 16 and 17-year olds outnumber 18-year olds by 3 to 1.

C. Ethnic Distribution

Data on the ethnic composition of the experimental group during each year and for the entire period of operation are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Ethnic Distribution of the Experimental Group by Year and for the Total Period of Operation

	1st Year (5/62-3/63)		2nd Year (4/63-2/64)		3rd Year (4/64-1/65)		Total (5/62-1/65)	
Ethnicity	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White	18	15	41	24	35	21	94	20
Negro	43	35	52	30	65	38	160	35
Puerto Rican[1]	62	50	79	46	68	41	209	45
Total	123	100	172	100	168	100	463	100

Although the ethnic composition of the caseload fluctuated somewhat from one year to the next, it is obvious that at no time did the whites constitute more than approximately one-fourth of the caseload. The largest group served was the Puerto Rican with the Negro group being slightly smaller.

D. Socio-Economic Leval

In assessing the socio-economic level of our client population, we used Martin Hamburger's (1958) Revised Occupational Scale for Rating Socio-Economic Class, but with some modifications which are described in the Appendix, along with the methods used in assigning the actual ratings.

[1] It is recognized that the Puerto Rican classification cuts across the other two ethnic classifications. It is used here as a classification of convenience.

Table 7 presents data on the socio-economic level of the entire experimental group.

Table 7

Socio-Economic Level of the Experimental Group

Socio-Economic Level	Number and Percentage of Clients	
	Number	%
1 (highest)	2	.4
2	2	.4
3	4	.8
4	41	9.0
5	49	10.6
6	211	45.6
7	45	9.7
8	40	8.6
9 (lowest)	69	14.9
Total	463	100.0

What seems most significant, perhaps, is the heavy concentration (78.8%) on the lowermost socio-economic levels (levels 6, 7, 8, 9). In view of the occupational role models apparently available to those youngsters, one can readily understand that there may be a lack of educational and vocational aspiration on their part. Approximately 55% of the client population came from families where the primary wage earner was employed on a low-skill or unskilled level (levels 6 and 7), and almost 25% were from families that were either partially or completely dependent on public assistance (levels 8 and 9). In contrast, only 10% of the clients came from families on a very high to moderately high socio-economic level (levels 1-4). However, this, too, seems worthy of some comment. The very fact that these youngsters were also school drop-outs despite their higher socio-economic level, suggests that the drop-out problem may have roots that go deeper than socio-economic level.

Table 8 presents a comparison of the socio-economic levels of the white, Negro, and Puerto Rican groups in our client population.

Table 8

Comparison of Socio-Economic Level By Ethnic Group

Socio-Economic Level	White		Negro		Puerto Rican	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	2	2	0	0	0	0
2	2	2	0	0	0	0
3	4	4	0	0	0	0
4	19	20	12	7	10	5
5	21	22	16	10	12	6
6	37	40	72	45	102	49
7	6	7	25	16	14	6
8	1	1	14	9	25	12
9	2	2	21	13	46	22
Total	94	100	160	100	209	100

A comparison of the three ethnic groups in terms of the percentages found on the four lowest socio-economic levels reveals that only 50% of the whites fell in this category, as against 83% of the Negroes and 89% of the Puerto Ricans. The percentages of whites, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans who were from families dependent wholly or partially on public assistance were 3%, 22%, and 34% respectively. Looking at the upper end of the soci-economic scale, we see that 28% of the whites were from the four highest levels, whereas only 7% of the Negroes and 5% of the Puerto Ricans were in this category. In fact, it is to be noted that Negroes and Puerto Ricans were not found on the three highest levels at all.

E. Level of Education

In Table 9 data are presented on the levels of education attained by the 463 clients comprising the experimental group.

Table 9

Level of Education of the Experimental Group

Grade Level Completed	Number and Percentage of Clients	
	Number	%
11th	35	7.6
10th	92	19.9
9th	192	41.5
8th	99	21.4
7th	25	5.4
6th	6	1.3
5th	2	.4
4th	2	.4
3rd	1	.2
CRMD	9	1.9
Total	463	100.0

Although 69% of the group completed more than an 8th grade education, the majority of these youngsters thereafter dropped out after completing the 9th grade, leaving only 27.5% who completed more than a 9th grade education.

Table 10 below presents a comparison of the levels of education attained by the white, Negro and Puerto Rican groups in our client population.

Table 10

Comparison of Level of Education by Ethnic Group

Grade Level Completed	White		Negro		Puerto Rican	
	N	Cum. %	N	Cum. %	N	Cum. %
11th	17	18.1	13	8.1	5	2.4
10th	24	43.6	35	30.0	33	18.2
9th	33	78.6	76	77.5	83	57.9
8th	17	96.7	27	94.4	55	84.2
7th	0	96.7	4	96.9	21	94.2
6th	1	97.8	2	98.1	3	95.6
5th	1	98.9	0	98.1	1	96.1
4th	1	100.0	0	98.1	1	96.6
3rd	0	-	0	98.1	1	97.1
CRMD	0	-	3	100.0	6	100.0
Total	94		160		209	

Regardless of the level of education at which the comparison is made, the trend is the same, namely, the level of education decreases from white to Negro to Puerto Rican. For example, if the comparison is made on the basis of having completed more than a 9th grade education, the percentages for whites, Negroes, and Puerto Ricans are 43.6%, 30% and 18.2% respectively. Similarly, the proportions of whites Negroes and Puerto Ricans who completed more than the 8th grade are 78.6%, 77.5%, and 57.9%. It is to be noted that the decline in percentage completing a specified level of education is greater between whites and Puerto Ricans than between whites and Negroes. This would seem to confirm what has been indicated by Puerto Rican leaders in New York City (Puerto Rican Forum, 1965), Puerto Ricans probably are even more disadvantaged and in need of vocational and educational assistance than are Negroes. Some of the factors that may play a role in the Puerto Ricans being at a greater disadvantage than either of the other two ethnic groups are suggested by the data in the following section of this report.

IV. ASSESSMENT OF CLIENTS

As part of the appraisal process, psychological tests were administered to 263 of the 463 clients in the experimental group. Since flexibility in approach and methodology was considered a keynote of our Youth and Work Program, the decision on whether or not to carry out testing was made on an individual basis with each client. Considered here were the following factors: 1) The suitability of standardized psychological tests for the client in terms of cultural and language factors. 2) The extent to which testing would contribute to the understanding of the client's problem. 3) The availability of data on prior testing carried out elsewhere. 4) The client's level of self-confidence and the extent to which testing might be threatening.

Of the 263 clients who were tested, 218 were administered a full battery including the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS). A total of 2,038 tests were administered. The typical battery used consisted of the following tests:

1. Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale
2. Monroe Silent Reading Test
3. Woody-McCall Arithmetic Fundamentals
4. Minnesota Clerical Test
5. VAS Simple Posting Test
6. Minnesota Spatial Relations Test
7. O'Connor Wiggly Block
8. O'Connor Finger and Tweezer Dexterity
9. Minnesota Rate of Manipulation (Placing and Turning)
10. VAS "Information Schedule" (a projective questionnaire developed at VAS)

In addition the following tests were used on a selective basis:

Thematic Apperception Test
Bender-Gestalt Test
Draw A Person
Porteus Mazes
Kohs Block Design
Stenquist Mechanical Assembly
I.E.R. Girls' Mechanical Assembly Test
Pennsylvania Bi-Manual
VAS Spelling Test
Gates Reading Test
Peabody Picture Vocabulary
Otis Arithmetic Reasoning.

For the 263 clients who were tested, the test battery was also mofified, where necessary, to consist only of non-verbal tests. This was done where language factors and reading deficiencies had to be considered. There were also instances where, because of previous failure, the client was strongly conditioned against anything resembling school-type paper and pencil tests and, here again, only performance type tests were used.

In the sections that follow are presented some of our major psychological test findings:

A. Level of Intelligence

The Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale was administered to 218 clients, of which 156 were male (72.5%) and 60 were female (27.5%). Our findings are presented in Table 11, along with a comparison of these findings with the classification of intelligence for the general population (Wechsler, 1958).

Table 11

Intelligence Classification of Youth and Work Clients Compared with the General Population

I.Q. Interval	Intelligence Classification	% in each I.Q. category: General Population	Y and W Clients
130 and above	Very Superior	2.2	0
120 - 129	Superior	6.7	.9
110 - 119	Bright Normal	16.1	4.1
90 - 109	Average	50.0	50.5
80 - 89	Dull Normal	16.1	29.8
70 - 79	Borderline	6.7	12.8
69 and below	Defective	2.2	1.9
		100.0	100.0

As can be seen, the scores of 50.5% of the clients who were tested fell into the average category of intelligence. This is virtually identical with the findings typically obtained on representative samples of the general population. However, this is where the resemblance ends. Only 5% of the clients tested scored above average in intelligence as against 25% for the general population. Almost 45% of the tested Youth and Work population was below average in intelligence, as compared with only 25% for the general population. It is apparent that these Youth and Work clients are not representative of the general population.

On the other hand, some rather positive features emerge. Although most of these youngsters come from underprivileged environments - as indicated by their socio-economic level - and are deficient in level of educational attainment, they are far from representing the "bottom of the barrel", as it were. with regard to their ability level. Only 14.7% can be considered as seriously limited in intelligence (borderline or defective) and even here the findings have to be interpreted with caution since cultural and language

factors may have affected the functioning of some of the youngsters whose scores placed them in these intelligence categories. The fact remains that the functioning of 85% of the youngsters tested ranges from slightly below average (dull normal) up through average and above average. The implication of this is that - given the necessary vocational and educational assistance - these youngsters do have the potential ability to make a satisfactory vocational adjustment in their adult lives.

Table 12 presents a comparison of level of intelligence of white, Negro, and Puerto Rican clients.

Table 12

Level of Intelligence by Ethnic Group

I.Q. Interval	Intelligence Classification	% in each I.Q. category White N=94	Negro N=160	Puerto Rican N=209
130 and above	Very Superior	0	0	0
120 - 129	Superior	4.5	0	0
110 - 119	Bright Normal	14.0	1.4	1.0
90 - 109	Average	63.0	61.9	40.4
80 - 89	Dull Normal	14.0	26.8	38.4
70 - 79	Borderline	4.5	8.5	17.3
69 and below	Defective	0	1.4	2.9
		100.0	100.0	100.0

The distribution of I.Q.'s for the white clients is quite similar to that of the general population as shown in Table 12. The percentage in the average category is somewhat larger, of course, but the distribution is symmetric, with the percentage above average (18.5%) equal to the proportion below average (18.5%). The functioning of 95.4% of the white group ranges from slightly below average (dull normal) up through average and above. The I.Q. distribution for the Negro group shows an almost identical proportion (61.9%) falling into the average category as for the whites (63%). However, only 1.4% are above average while 36.7% are below average. The functioning of 90.1% of the Negro group ranges from slightly below average up through average and above. In contrast, only 40.4% of the Puerto Rican group fall into the average category and only 1% can be classified as above average, while 58.2% fall into the below average category. It is also seen that the functioning of only 79.8% of the Puerto Rican group ranges from slightly below average up through average and above compared with 95.4% of the white group and 90.1% of the Negro group.

These differences in intellectual functioning may be related to the previously noted differences in educational attainment which, in turn, may be related to socio-economic factors and to cultural and language factors. For example, not having English as a first language may be a handicap for many Puerto Ricans taking the W.A.I.S. It should also be noted that the W.A.I.S. is not a culture-free test of general intelligence, as certain parts of this test pre-suppose a familiarity with the American culture. There are also aspects of the test which are dependent to an extent on knowledge and proficiency in school subject matter, notably in the areas of vocabulary and arithmetic. The extent to which the Negroes and Puerto Ricans in our client population are handicapped in these areas is brought out in the following sections dealing with reading comprehension and arithmetic ability.

B. Level of Reading Comprehension

The Monroe Silent Reading Test was administered to 216 clients in the experimental group. Table 13 summarizes the findings in this area.

Table 13

Reading Comprehension of Clients Tested

Reading Grade Level	Number and Percentage of Clients	
	N	%
8th to 10th	20	9
6th to 8th	34	16
4th to 6th	72	33
2nd to 4th	90	42
Total	216	100

As can be seen, 75% of the clients tested read below the 6th grade level and 42% read below the 4th grade level. The extent of the reading deficiency of these youngsters becomes even more apparent when we compare their reading comprehension with their level of education. Although 69% had completed more than an 8th grade education, only 9% of those tested were able to read at the 8th grade level or above. A comparison of the reading comprehension levels of the white, Negro, and Puerto Rican clients is presented in Table 14 below.

Table 14

Reading Comprehension by Ethnic Group

Reading Grade Level	% in Each Grade Level		
	White	Negro	Puerto Rican
8th to 10th	22	5	7
6th to 8th	24	20	10
4th to 6th	29	36	34
2nd to 4th	25	39	49
Total	100	100	100

Among the white clients, 54% read below the 6th grade level and 25% read below the 4th grade level. In contrast, 75% of the Negro clients fell below the 6th grade level in reading comprehension and 39% were below the 4th grade level. The difference between the white and the Puerto Rican clients is even more striking, with 83% of the latter scoring below the 6th grade level and 49% below the 4th grade level.

C. Arithmetic Ability

The Woody-McCall Test of Arithmetic Fundamentals was administered to 205 clients. The findings are presented below in Table 15.

Table 15

Arithmetic Ability of the Clients Tested

Arithmetic Grade Level	Number and Percentage of Clients	
	#	%
8th to 10th	9	4
6th to 8th	54	27
4th to 6th	113	55
2nd to 4th	29	14
Total	205	100

Sixty-nine per cent of this group scored below the 6th grade in arithmetic ability. Moreover, it is to be noted that only 4% of the group scored at or above the 8th grade level in ability to do simple arithmetic - although 69% of the clients had completed more than an 8th grade education. Table 16 presents a comparison of the arithmetic ability of the white, Negro and Puerto Rican clients.

Table 16

Arithmetic Ability by Ethnic Group

Arithmetic Grade Level	% in Each Grade Level		
	White	Negro	Puerto Rican
8th to 10th	15	3	2
6th to 8th	33	32	21
4th to 6th	52	54	56
2nd to 4th	0	11	21
Total	100	100	100

Whereas 52% of the white clients scored below the 6th grade level in arithmetic proficiency, 65% of the Negroes and 77 % of the Puerto Ricans fell into this category. Similarly, although none of the white clients scored below the 4th grade level, 11% of the Negroes and 21% of the Puerto Ricans were unable to achieve scores beyond this level.

In general, our psychological test findings exhibit the same trend that was noted with respect to socio-economic level and level of education. The proportion of clients functioning on a specified level in the areas of measured intelligence, reading comprehension, and arithmetic ability decreases from whites to Negroes to Puerto Ricans. As previously noted, these areas are among the most sensitive to differences in educational opportunities and this factor undoubtedly plays a role in depressing the functioning of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the areas tested and in their lower socio-economic status as well. However, in the case of Puerto Ricans this is probably compounded still further by the handicapping effect of cultural and language factors.

D. Projective Test Findings

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) was administered to 47 clients in the experimental group. Since the clients to whom this projective test was given were not selected on a random basis, the findings cannot be considered as representative of the entire group. The selection was made on a purposive basis and, for this reason, the clients to whom the TAT was admini-

stered can be considered as having been pre-selected. For example, when a TAT was given, it was usually because emotional disturbance was already suspected on the basis of behavior during the first interview, clinical impressions emerging from the administration of the WAIS or past behavior in a school setting. The purpose here in administering the TAT was to confirm these impressions and to attempt to shed additional light on the underlying dynamics. It should be mentioned, however, that many of the behavior patterns exhibited by the clients who were given the TAT were also manifested by a considerable number of the other clients. That these clients were not given the TAT was often due to the factors previously mentioned, namely, the unsuitability of standard psychological tests for those clients with gross cultural and language handicaps and for those whose already low self-confidence would be threatened by testing. In addition, there were those whose emotional problems were already so apparent that testing was not considered necessary for purposes of clarification or confirmation.

Study of the TAT material pertaining to the 47 clients tested revealed some fairly consistent behavioral and attitudinal patterns. Among these were the following:

1. Difficulty in coping with reality factors. This seemed to be composed of a constellation of psychological attributes such as low frustration tolerance, inability to postpone immediate gratification of needs, a pessimistic outlook on the future, and conflict between environmental demands and personal desires.

2. Inadequate self-awareness and confusion concerning social role requirements. Self-concepts often seemed to lack clarity and definition and were pervaded by feelings of inferiority, lack of confidence in coping with demands and responsibilities, and uncertainty of the role to be played and its requirements.

3. Impaired interpersonal relationships. Difficulties seemed to to occur primarily in relation to adults, especially when they were perceived as authority figures. When TAT responses were synthesized with case history material, the possible antecedents and causative factors often appeared to be rejection and frustration in childhood, coupled in some cases with outright abuse or abandonment on the part of the parents. This seemed to lead to a generalized view of adults as representing parent surrogates at whose hands one could expect only further punishment, deprivation, and disappointment.

4. Immaturity and dependency. Psychosocial development frequently appeared to have been arrested at a childhood level, possibly as the result of the most basic human needs and satisfactions having been frustrated. As a probable consequence, there was the above-mentioned tendency toward the immediate satisfaction of needs that one would expect of a young child. Along with this, there was the reluctance - sometimes appearing as unwillingness and sometimes as fearfulness - toward assuming responsibility for oneself and one's actions.

5. Ambivalence, negative attitudes, and anti-social tendencies. These are related to all of the foregoing and are probably outgrowths of those attributes. Relatively few clients showed serious anti-social inclinations, but virtually all manifested negative or ambivalent attitudes toward the larger society. Here, again, their case histories suggested that these attitudes stemmed from the early alienation or indifference that they experienced within their families. That these attitudes should have generalized to the larger community is not too difficult to understand. The indoctrination of the child into the community and his socialization within it is brought about largely through the school and it is in this area that these youngsters have experienced much of their subsequent failure, frustration, and rejection. When it is realized that similar negative experiences have followed their attempts to find a place for themselves in the world of work, the basis of their hostility becomes even more apparent.

The behavioral and attitudinal manifestations reported here do not seem to be indicative of deeply-rooted emotional pathology. Rather, they seem to be adjustment reactions to the problems of adolescence faced by these youngsters and a reflection of the particular values of their sub-culture.

V. DESCRIPTION OF SERVICES TO CLIENTS

In contrast to the control group, which received only job placement assistance, the experimental group received the following services: counseling, psychological appraisal, remedial education, pre-vocational orientation, and job placement. These services - with the exception of psychological appraisal, which has already been discussed - are described below:

A. Counseling

Individual counseling was provided to each client in the experimental group. In fact, counseling was considered to be the focal point, with the other services being brought into play at appropriate stages in the development of the client's plans. Thus, the client's initial contact with the professional services of the Youth and Work Program was through his first counseling interview. Additional counseling interviews were offered, as needed, throughout the period that the client remained active in the program.

During the 33 months of operation 4,624 individual counseling interviews were conducted with the 463 clients in the experimental group. Table 17 shows the number of counseling interviews during each year of operation and the average number of counseling interviews per client.

Table 17

Number of Counseling Interviews

Period	Number of Interviews	Number of Clients	Mean Number of Interviews per Client
5/62 to 3/63	978	123	7.9
4/63 to 3/64	1694	172	9.8
4/64 to 1/65	1952	168	11.6
Total	4624	463	9.9

The year-by-year increase in the average number of counseling interviews per client offers an indication of the holding power of the program as a whole and of the counseling aspect in particular. It reflects, too, the increasing extent to which the clients availed themselves of the counseling services. It seems quite possible that this may be due - in part, at least - to the flexible nature of the counseling that was offered. As mentioned earlier in this report, a basic premise in the counseling approach was that of starting with the client at the point where he was and working with him in those problem areas in which he felt ready to accept assistance. In effect, this required the counselor not only to try to determine the client's basic difficulty and its ramifications, but to ask himself, "What are the immediate problems facing this person? How ready is he to work on his problems? How much responsibility is he able to take right now?" and "How much responsibility can he learn to take?" This also meant recognizing that individuals vary in their capacity and readiness to come to grips with their underlying problems and that emotional factors could not be overlooked in the vocational decision-making process (Thompson, 1961).

At the end of the 33-month period of operation covered by this report, the counseling staff was asked to describe their experience in working with this client population in terms of the following areas: (1) Client characteristics, attitudes, and values. (2) Types of problems on which assistance was needed. (3) Client's responses to counseling. A summary of what the counselors reported is presented below:

1. Client characteristics, attitudes, and values:

   a. Distrust and suspicion of authority figures - This usually manifested itself only in the initial interview, although with some youngsters several interviews were needed to win their confidence. "But once they did trust you, they wanted to tell you everything. It seemed that some of them never had anyone before that they could confide in without fear of being criticized or judged."

b. Unrealistic aspirations and work attitudes - Most of the youngsters demonstrated only a very limited knowledge about the world of work. Equally limited was their appraisal of their abilities and aptitudes. S me aspired beyond their level, while others under-estimated their ability to learn. Considerable ego-involvement was seen in those who over-aspired, which no doubt was due to unmet and frustrated emotional needs, while those who under-aspired seemed to have been conditioned to failure.

c. Hypersensitivity to criticism or rejection (actual or implied) - Many clients failed to keep appointments that were sent to them. Interestingly, however, they often walked in on their own a day or two later before a follow-up had been made. On these occasions - of which there were many - it soon became evident that they did not want to be questioned about why they had not kept the scheduled appointment. They also seemed to resent being told about the importance of keeping appointments. In this and in other areas, such as their need to confide about past misbehaviors, it seemed that they had a strong need to be accepted on their own terms. In fact, it seemed that these things were used as a means of testing the counselor's acceptance of them.

d. "Facade of toughness" - This seemed to be related to the above and also to be a carry-over from their behavior in their peer group, where this was one of the prerequisites for acceptance by the group. In view of their great sensitivity to rejection and their correspondingly strong need for acceptance, it was not surprising that this behavior should appear in the counseling relationship. Here again, however, it was interesting that this facade was abandoned once they found that their acceptance did not depend on it.

e. Dependency needs - Attitudes of dependnecy seemed to be strongest among those youngsters whose family backgrounds revealed dependency patterns of long-standing, as manifested by chronic dependence on public assistance. With these youngsters dependency could be seen as having become a way of life. On the other hand, youngsters whose families had been on public assistance a relatively short time usually expressed a desire to get themselves and their families off public assistance as soon as possible.

Another form of dependency was also seen, which was not related to being on public assistance. This was the dependence on others - in this case the counselor - to make one's decisions for him. It should be noted, however, that difficulty in decision-making is found among many of the clients coming to a vocational counseling agency and is found on all socio-economic levels. Its development appears to be the result of a failure by the family and the school to provide experiences in childhood and adolescence conducive to the gradual assumption of responsibility and the making of one's own decisions. However, in a drop-out population, this is further aggravated by their deep-seated fear of failure and their feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. Moreover, these youngsters often have urgentproblems requiring rather immediate decisions to be made. In working with such youngsters, the counselor faces a particularly difficult dilemma. If he makes the decision for the client because the client is not yet ready

to make this decision himself, the immediate problem may thereby have been solved - but the client has been made that much more dependent. On the other hand, if he refuses to do this and concentrates instead on helping the client to find his own solution, he will have contributed to the client's future problem-solving ability - provided the client does not break contact first because he did not receive immediate concrete assistance. More will be said about this in the final section of this report.

f. Impaired self-concepts and confusion about social role requirements - In order to function effectively and with satisfaction to himself, each person needs to know who he is; he needs to have an image or concept of himself. Nowhere was the inner confusion of these youngsters more apparent than in the vagueness of the images they had of themselves. Almost all of them seemed to have doubts as to who and what they were and seemed to be in search of hints from the outside to tell them what role to play. As previously indicated, many came from families on public assistance and families where employment and income were both marginal and sporadic. Many, too, came from broken homes and homes where there had never been even a semblance of stable family relationships. As a consequence of the absence of appropriate role models to emulate, these youngsters were unable to determine what their own role in life should be.

g. Rejection of social values - Many of the clients seemed to have middle-class aspirations concerning the kinds of jobs they would like to obtain and the standard of living they desired. Few, however, seemed to be willing to work hard to attain these ends. Typically, they placed little value on education or on saving money toward the future. In fact, there was little evidence that any of them had any kind of life goals beyond the moment, beyond earning enough for gratification of immediate desires. Many of these youngsters came from homes where they had ample opportunity to see the seedier side of life, where out-of-wedlock relationships were common, where they saw their mothers living with a succession of different men, none of whom lingered long enough to assume any responsibility. From what these youngsters told their counselors, it seems that, for most of them, the values of our society are alien to their backgrounds and consequently they could not make them part of their own value system.

2. Types of problems on which assistance was needed:

a. Employment problems - Virtually every client gave this as his main reason for applying to the project. Some were able to accept help only in this area. For others, however, this represented only the surface level on which they could present their problem initially. Gradually, their focus changed and they started to talk about their other problems.

b. Family relationships - As already suggested, most of the youngsters had problems in this area. Typically, they spoke of the indifference of their families, the discord in the home, their inability to get along with their mothers or - more frequently - their "stepfathers." Some had no idea who their real fathers were and knew nothing of their

whereabouts. Some even told of having been put out of their homes or of having been sent to institutions or to relatives. As counseling progressed and plans for training were made, quite a few told of being under pressure from their families to get an immediate job.

c. Peer relationships and social contacts - A number of the youngsters spoke of having difficulty in establishing friendships. Where this appeared, it seemed to be a problem of long-standing, reaching back to their early childhood and their experiences in school. Others who did not have this difficulty complained of having no place to go except to "hang around - and that's how you get into trouble."

d. Health concerns - About one out of every three clients was reported to have expressed concern about some aspect of health. Some of these youngsters were found to have a serious health problem, such as epilepsy, tuberculosis, or rheumatic heart disease. The problems of the others, although less serious, nevertheless constituted some degree of impairment vocationally, educationally, or socially. Most frequently found in this category were poor vision, neglected teeth, allergies, and skin conditions.

e. Feelings of inadequacy - In most cases these were related to the vocational area. As mentioned previously, almost all of the youngsters expressed a desire for assistance with obtaining employment. However, when this was approached on more than a superficial level, it was found that most of the clients felt vocationally unprepared and had little or no idea where their interests lay. The desire for an immediate job often stemmed from family pressure, pressure from the Department of Welfare, or pressure from a Probation Officer. Many of the youngsters doubted their ability to hold down a job, to meet employers' expectations, or to even obtain a job. Many, too, had a bleak outlook on their vocational future, feeling that they were slated for a low-paid, routine, unrewarding dead-end job - and they were right, of course, since business and industry have little else to offer the drop-out.

f. School-related difficulties - Only a small proportion of the client population expressed interest in resuming their education. Some of these were 18-year olds who had been out of school one or two years and who had learned the value of education through their unsuccessful job experiences. The others were ones who had responded to the encouragement given them by their counselors on the basis of potential that had been revealed by psychological tests. Most of the youngsters, however, had no desire to return to school. To them, school had meant only failure and frustration. They knew that the better jobs went to those with education and training and, yet, they could not retrace their steps.

g. Concern about personal problems - In addition to problems in the area of family relationships, personal problems concerned a number of the youngsters. Some reported being worried about inner anxieties, tensions, and "nervousness." Others were troubled by their feelings of hostility, their tendency to act on impulse, their inability to control their temper. Still others were depressed, uncertain of their ability to handle their lives successfully, or were confused about their role in life.

h. Responsibilities of raising children - About 10% of the youngsters, none of whom were over 18, were already mothers and fathers themselves. The girls reported feeling inadequate in their role as a mother. They seemed to feel that they could function better as a wage-earner, with the care of their child taken over by someone else such as their own mother, a relative, or a day nursery. Yet, they did not want to give up their children. The boys, too, felt inadequate in their role as fathers, largely becuase of their difficulties in earning more than minimum wages. They were virtually unanimous, however, in asserting that they wanted to assume their responsibilities.

3. Clients' responses to counseling:

The responses of the youngsters to counseling were varied and ranged from sincere appreciation at having found someone willing to help them with their problems to a rejection of any attempt to offer more than the job placement assistance they had requested. The majority, however, responded positively to counseling. Summarized below are the factors that seem to distinguish those who responded positively to counseling from those who responded negatively.

a. Factors associated with positive response to counseling:

1) The presence of emotional problems - Most of the clients who were troubled by emotional problems (including family problems) welcomed the opportunity to discuss these problems.

2) Ability to recognize the existence of problems - The possession of a degree of insight into underlying problems is well recognized as a sine qua non in counseling and therapy. Those clients with average to above average intelligence seemed to have greater insight than those with less than average intelligence.

3) Desire for improvement - Dissatisfaction with the present situation and a desire for improvement is necessary in addition to the above-noted capacity for improvement.

b. Factors asscciated with negative response to counseling:

1) Impatience and inability to sustain contact - A small proportion of the youngsters seemed too restless to be able to focus on anything but their immediate problem and an immediate solution to it. When this solution was not immediately forthcoming, they broke contact.

2) Long history of contacts with agencies - These are the youngsters who have been known to numerous agencies from an early age. They have been tested and re-tested and have told their stories to countless workers. Not having sustained contact long enough to be helped or not having found the help they needed, they are unable to relate on more than a superficial basis.

3) Current involvement with other agencies - Some of the youngsters were known elsewhere and had to relate to several professional

workers, such as medical social workers, Youth Board workers, or Probation Officers. Since they were already receiving assistance with some of their problems, it is understandable that all they desired from our program was concrete help in the area of finding employment.

4) Referrals made under duress - In a few cases, youngsters reported that they had been sent here to get a job. They came, they said, "to get the P.O. (or the judge) off my back." The fact that the program had been interpreted to them in such limited terms seemed to make it difficult for these youngsters to view it in a broader aspect. Moreover, they felt under pressure to secure employment right away - any kind of employment - rather than take the time to develop a plan in keeping with their abilities and interests.

B. REMEDIAL EDUCATION

The services of a remedial education specialist were made available to the VAS Youth and Work Program from 11/1/63 to 1/31/65. This grew out of the recommendations of the staff who, during the first 18 months of operation, had found that a large number of the clients were at a distinct disadvantage in employment and training because of serious reading deficiencies. Table 18 presents data on the number of clients who received individual remedial education (remedial reading).

Table 18

Remedial Reading

Period	Number of Clients Given Remedial Reading	Number of Remedial Sessions	Average per Client
11/63 to 3/64 (5 months)	49	110	2.2
4/64 to 1/65 (10 months)	70	320	4.6
Total	119	430	3.6

As can be seen, the average number of remedial sessions per client increased greatly after the first five months. During the early months the emphasis was on making remedial services available to as many youngsters as possible and on limiting the remedial education primarily to what was needed to enhance the client's employability. In the later months, however, an attempt was made to broaden these services and to extend them beyond the minimum needed for employment. In fact, clients who had obtained employment were encouraged to come in after work and build on the progress they had made. Even so, these figures do not tell the entire story. Some youngsters, for

example, came only once for remedial reading and did not return, while some others came regularly and had as many as 25 remedial sessions.

In general, it was found that most of the clients had a low estimate of their ability to improve their reading and needed considerable encouragement- along with some initial successes on relatively easy material. For the most part, they also had a low level of self-discipline, were impatient to see results, and underestimated how much needed to be done to overcome their reading deficiencies. For these reasons, it was difficult with some of them to carry out long-range remediation. Relatively few had the inner motivation to persist without constant encouragement, especially in the face of difficulty. Interestingly, however, a few felt so inadequate in the vocational area that they sought to prolong the remedial reading in order to postpone seeking employment.

C. PREVOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

Our pre-vocational program came into being 4/1/63 as a result of staff recommendations and was in operation continuously during the following 22 months until 1/31/65. The preceding year's experience had indicated that the employment problems of many of the youngsters were complicated by poor work habits, lack of confidence, lack of entry-level skills, and unfamiliarity with what was expected on a job. The pre-vocational program was established to meet these needs and was conducted under simulated job conditions.

During the 22 months of operation a total of 328 youngsters (70.8% of the experimental group) received pre-vocational orientation. Of this number, 80% were males. Data on the number of clients and the number of hours of training given are presented in Table 19.

Table 19

Pre-Vocational Orientation

Period	Number of Clients Given Training	Number of Hours of Training	Average per Client
4/63 to 3/64 (12 months)	186	1247	6.7
4/64 to 1/65 (10 months)	142	1428	10.1
Total	328	2675	8.1

The increase in the average number of hours of training per client was made possible by the addition of a part-time assistant to the workshop supervisor as of May 1964. Here again, however, the averages cited do not present the entire picture. Of the 328 clients to whom pre-vocational

services were made available, approximately 30% had only one session, 40% had from 2-5 sessions, 20% had 6-14 sessions, and 10% had 15 or more sessions.

It should be noted that, in many cases one pre-vocational orientation session, which usually lasted all day, was all that was needed for the purpose at hand. For example, youngsters were often referred for pre-vocational services by the employment interviewer for the specific purpose of meeting an employer's entry-level job specifications. As an illustration, job orders were sometimes received for an office boy who could operate a mimeograph machine, a supermarket stock clerk who could relieve on the cash register, or a restaurant countergirl who knew how to write out food checks, make change, and compute the restaurant tax. A day spent learning and practicing the fundamentals was often followed by a successful job interview the next day.

This is not meant to imply that this was all that was needed to make clients employable. Many had a low sense of self-esteem and had strong feelings of inadequacy. They often required many hours of patient instruction interspersed with encouragement and small successes on simple tasks before they developed the confidence to try for a job.

The training given in the pre-vocational program can be classified into three broad areas: 1) Vocational exploration. 2) Work adjustment. 3) Entry-level job training. Specific training was given in the following occupational areas:

Clerical: adding machine, addressograph, mimeograph, filing, office boy, receptionist, switchboard, typing.

Industrial: jewelry assembly, rhinestone pasting, packing, tool recognition.

Service: coffee cart attendant, bus boy (girl).

Sales: cashier, supermarket check-out.

An analysis of the 649 job placements that were made revealed that placements were made in 77 different occupations. Forty of these occupations were related to training that had been given in our pre-vocational workshop.

D. JOB PLACEMENT

Of the 463 clients in the experimental group, 379 were interviewed for job placement by the New York State Employment Service employment interviewer assigned to the project. A total of 2,545 placement interviews were held with this group, an average of 6.7 interviews per client. Three hundred thirty-eight of these 379 clients were referred to job openings and of this number 252 (74.5%) were hired and worked.

Altogether, 1,478 job referrals were made for the 338 clients who were referred for job placement. Six hundred forty-nine of these referrals (43.9%) resulted in job placement for the 252 clients mentioned above. Five

hundred fifty-four of these job placements were in full-time jobs and 95 were in part-time jobs. Table 20 presents a breakdown of the number of job placements made during each of the three years of operation.

Table 20
Job Placements

Period	Number of Placements	Average Number of Placements Per Month
5/1/63 to 3/31/63	115	10.4
4/1/63 to 3/31/64	265	22.1
4/1/64 to 1/31/65	269	26.9
Total	649	19.6

The year-by-year increase in the average number of job placements per month is a reflection of several factors: 1) Job development efforts, resulting in additional employer contacts. 2) Increased employer acceptance of our clients based on their satisfactory experience with clients they had hired. 3) Increased job readiness of the clients themselves. 4) General improvement in professional skills through our experience in working with this client population.

As previously mentioned, virtually all of the clients verbalized a desire for immediate employment. Experience showed, however, that when job placement was attempted at the initial stage of the youngster's contact with the program, it frequently was not successful. For example, t here were 96 instances in which clients who were referred to a job opening did not report to the employer for an interview. Subsequent follow-up with these clients revealed that in most cases the youngster simply did not have sufficient self-confidence and had already concluded that he would not be hired. There were also 57 instances in which a client was hired by the employer but did not report to work. Here, too, lack of confidence played a large role in that the youngster often reported that he did not think he would be able to perform the work and was afraid he would be fired after a few days.

The 649 job placements were in 77 different occupations:

Clerical Occupations
*Adding Machine Operator
*Addressograph Machine Operator
*Duplicating Machine Operator
*Filing Clerk
*Mail Room Clerk
*Messenger
*Mimeograph Machine Operator
*Office Boy
*Receptionist
*Telephone Switchboard Operator
*Typist

Industrial Occupations
*Bench Assembler Trainee
Brake and Shear Operator
*Carder
Caster
Coil Winder
*Collator
Dyer
Electric Heater Assembler
*Filer
*Floor Boy
Folder
Foot Press Operator
Heat Sealer
Key Punch Operator
Machine Operator Trainee
*Messenger
*Packer
Paster
Plater
Plier Worker
Polisher
Printer's Helper
Pronger
*Rhinestone Paster
*Sewing Machine Operator
*Shipping Clerk
Solderer
Transformer Assembler

Merchandising Occupations
Beverage Clerk
*Cashier
Checker
*Inventory Clerk
*Marker - Ticketer
*Order Filler
*Packer
*Phone Order Clerk
Produce Clerk
*Sales Clerk
*Shipping Room Helper
*Stock Clerk
*Wrapper

Service Occupations
Animal Attendant
*Bagger
Beauty Parlor Maid
*Bus Boy (Girl)
*Coffee Cart Attendant
*Counterman
*Delivery Boy
Dental Assistant
Dietary Aide
Dishwasher
Elevator Operator
Floral Arranger
Grounds Keeper
*Kitchen Helper
Machine Presser
Messenger
Pantry Worker
*Porter
Shampoo Girl
Shirt Marker
Spotter
*Tray Girl
*Usher - Usherette
*Waiter - Waitress
Window Trimmer

Forty of these occupations (indicated by an asterisk) were related to training that had been given in our pre-vocational program.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is not possible to make a definitive evaluation of the effectiveness of the program for the experimental group since the data on the control group are not available to us at this time. However, some tentative conclusions and recommendations are suggested. These are presented below in terms of the

problems we encountered and the positive results we believe have been attained.

A. Problems Encountered

1. Client-related problems - Among the most frequently encountered problems in this area were inadequate motivation, personal and social maladjustment, dependency patterns of long standing, impaired family relationships, and family interference. Many of the clients' families not only failed to give them the necessary psychological support and encouragement, but they often interfered with plans that these youngsters had been helped to develop through counseling. For example, it was often during the first week or two of a youngster's involvement in the workshop or remedial program that he was subjected to pressure from his family to drop out and seek employment because tangible results were not immediately forthcoming. Since he was still vocationally unprepared in terms of literacy and entry job skills, the result was usually another fruitless search for employment. Added to this was his lack of confidence and his fear of handling job interviews. On the other hand, there were those whose vocational thinking was quite unrealistic in that they aspired beyond the level of their abilities and resisted any attempts toward re-direction. In some this seemed to be a function of inadequate self-awareness and awareness of occupational role requirements. In others it was apparent that there was considerable ego-involvement and that the unrealistic aspirations were based on frustrated emotional needs.

It should be noted that these problems are not unique to this type of client population. Many vocational counseling clients from higher socio-economic levels exhibit similar problems. What may distinguish the economically disadvantaged are the multiplicity of these complicating problems along with a serious difficulty in coping with reality factors. This is often accompanied by an attitude of hopelessness and a depressed outlook on life. To assist these youngsters in coping with their immediate problems is not enough since problems have a way of recurring or being replaced by other problems. What is equally important is to help them to develop their own problem-solving ability in order that they may become more effective individuals. Requisite to this is a professionally trained and qualified staff of counselors, psychologists, and social workers as well as facilities for vocational training, remedial education, and job placement.

2. Project-related problems - In a number of cases, serious medical or psychiatric problems were suspected and vocational planning had to be deferred until these problems could be evaluated. Although the services of our consulting psychiatrist were made available to the Youth and Work Program, there was necessarily a limitation on the extent to which these services could be provided. Involved here was our obligation to provide psychiatric consultation to our regular agency caseload as well. It would have been helpful to have had an item in the program budget to purchase additional psychiatric consultation when needed. The same holds true for medical examinations and other health services such as dental care and eyeglasses. It is not enough to rely on "existing community resources." These resources often have waiting lists or eligibility criteria. More than once contact was lost with a client because of the long wait before vocational planning could proceed. Similarly, remedial education had to be postponed until eyeglasses could be secured for the visually handicapped client. Difficulties arose in job

placement too, when youngsters lacked the bare essentials of clothing. It was not until the closing months of the project that funds became available for purchase of the latter two items.

A project-related problem of a different nature was that of the detailed information that had to be obtained from each applicant as part of the research design. Needless to say, research can hardly be carried out in the absence of adequate data, but the requirement to collect so much information in the first interview often interfered with establishing rapport.

B. Positive Results

1. Job placement-As previously indicated, 252-or 75% of those clients referred for job placement - were successful in obtaining employment. These 252 youngsters represent almost 55% of the experimental group. In time, this figure can be expected to increase as additional youngsters in the experimental group are helped to become ready for employment and are referred for job placement. (Although the experimental phase of this 3-year program ended with the termination of sponsorship by the New York State Division for Youth, the program has been continued on a service basis under other sponsorship.) What seems significant about the job placement figures is that most of the 252 clients who obtained employment either had not been able to secure employment previously or had been able to hold a job for only a few days. As of 1/31/65, 112 of these youngsters were still employed. This figure, too, would be higher were it not for the fact that a number of the job placements were in temporary jobs. Thirty-two per cent of the job placements have lasted at least one month, 15% lasted from 1 to 2 months, 11% from 2 to 6 months and 6% from 6 months to over one year. Of course, we have no way of knowing what the employment data would have been in the absence of the services provided by this program. However, if past performance is any predictor, it seems safe to assume that very few of these youngsters would have been any more successful in obtaining employment than they had been previously.

2. Improved readiness for work - The vast majority of the clients had had little or no previous work experience - and what little they did have was unsuccessful. Most of them had only the vaguest concept of occupational role requirements and employer expectations. Moreover, many were illiterate to the point of being unable to fill out an employment application. That pre-vocational training and remedial education was of value is suggested by the fact that many of the youngsters who dropped out of the pre-vocational training or the remedial education program returned when they could not obtain employment. With additional preparation, most of them were subsequently placed.

3. Resumption of education - 69 of the clients (15% of the experimental group) have resumed their education. Although this may seem like a small number, it is nonetheless noteworthy when one considers the fact that these are youngsters to whom school previously had meant only failure and frustration. Virtually all of them had expressed negative feelings toward school during their initial interview and had been almost unanimous in declaring that they did not wish to return to school. Since many of these

youngsters showed potential for a higher level of education than they had attained, counseling was aimed at helping them to overcome their fear of failure and develop more positive self-concepts. It was in this area, too, that remedial education was of value in that learning to read not only gave them a feeling of accomplishment, but opened doors that previously had been closed.

These results are considered as only preliminary and tentative at this point. Still to be evaluated are factors such as long-term job stability and vocational, personal, and social adjustment. These will have to wait upon accrual of additional evidence and the publication of data on the control group by the New York State Division for Youth.

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APPENDIX

ASSESSMENT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL

In assessing the socio-economic level of our client population, we used Martin Hamburger's Revised Occupational Scale for Rating Socio-Economic Class. Essentially, this scale is a multi-dimensional scale which attempts to rate socio-economic level in terms of the following variables: 1) occupational level (degree of skill, training, and education required), 2) income level, and 3) occupational prestige level. The scale runs from Level 1 (highest) to Level 7 (lowest). To this, we have added two more levels, Level 8 and Level 9. Table 21 presents definitions of these two levels and gives some examples of typical occupations found on the other seven levels.

Table 21

Typical Occupations Found on Levels 1 to 7 of the Revised Occupational Scale for Rating Socio-Economic Class and Definitions of Levels 8 and 9

Level	Typical Occupations and Definitions
1	Physician, lawyer, business manager and proprietor (business value above $150,000), sales manager, high level official
2	Registered nurse, pharmacist, social worker, manager and proprietor (business value $50,000 to $150,000), buyer, salesman (high income)
3	Radio announcer, laboratory technician, commercial artist, manager and proprietor (business value $10,000 to $50,000), administrative secretary, detective, auto salesman
4	Dental hygienist, draftsman, photographer, stenographer, furniture salesman, electrician, tool and die maker, airplane mechanic, policeman, fireman, chef, custom tailor
5	Typist, assistant bookkeeper, sales clerk, carpenter, auto mechanic, barber, cook, practical nurse, mailman
6	Shipping clerk, stock clerk, dime-store clerk, semi-skilled to low-skilled factory worker, laborer, bartender, counterman, taxi driver, hospital orderly, gas station attendant
7	Night watchman, porter, garbage collector, charwoman, delivery boy.
8	Family receiving supplementary public assistance in addition to the earned income of some family member. Type of occupation from which income is earned is not considered.
9	Family entirely dependent on public assistance

APPENDIX (continued)

We added levels 8 and 9 in order to have the scale discriminate more adequately at the lower socio-economic levels. We felt that we should differentiate between families that are self-supporting, even if on a relatively low socio-economic level and those that were dependent either wholly or partly on public assistance.

In order to make this scale applicable and meaningful for rating the socio-economic level of a client population drawn largely from the ranks of the economically deprived - among whom were found many instances of family desertion by the natural parent or parents, separation, and out-of-wedlock relationships - we had to make the following additional arbitrary modifications to the scale:

1. In rating the family's socio-economic level, we used the occupation of the nominal head of the family, whoever this happened to be. This meant using the father's occupation if he was living and supporting the family. If not, we used the mother's occupation or, if she had remarried, the step-father's occupation. In some cases, we used the occupation of grandparents, aunts or uncles, brothers- or sisters-in law, if they happened to be the one with whom the youngster was living and being supported.

2. A small number of our girls were married and being supported by their husbands who, it happened, were on a socio-economic level several steps removed from that of their wife's family. In these cases, since the marriage had been of relatively short duration, we decided to rate in terms of the socio-economic level of the girl's family and then raise or drop the rating by one level, as the case might be.

Each client was rated by reviewing his folder in terms of the factual data concerning the family's level and source of income, occupation of nominal head of family, and present status with regard to public assistance. The ratings were carried out by two professional staff members of our Youth and Work Program, both of whom had been trained in the use and interpretation of the socio-economic rating scale. Prior to the actual ratings, each judge independently rated a sample of 10% of the 463 cases to determine the extent to which their ratings agreed. It was found that 80% of their ratings were identical. To further increase the reliability of their ratings, it was decided that the two judges would confer on any cases where there was a question regarding the socio-economic level in which to classify a particular occupation.